



Amend It, or League Fails, Says Hughes

Useless Because Provisions Cannot Be Applied, He Asserts in an Exhaustive Analysis

Monroe Doctrine Must Be Inserted

Attempt to Assure Boundaries Futile in "World of Dynamic Forces"

Charles E. Hughes, former justice of the United States Supreme Court and Republican candidate for President in 1916, wants the territorial guarantee in the covenant of the league of nations entirely eliminated, suggests a specific declaration of adherence to the Monroe Doctrine and advocates "hands off" purely internal concerns of the United States by European powers.

In a speech at the Union League Club yesterday afternoon at 6:30 o'clock to an audience that packed the assembly chamber to the doors, Mr. Hughes proposed the following amendments to the covenant:

- (1) By explicit provision as to the requirement of unanimity in decision.
- (2) By suitable limitation as to the field of the league's inquiries and action, so as to leave no doubt that the internal concerns of states, such as immigration and tariff laws, are not embraced.
- (3) Preserve Monroe Doctrine
- (4) By providing that no foreign power shall hereafter acquire by conquest, purchase, or in any other way, any possession on the American continent or the islands adjacent thereto.
- (5) By providing that the settlement of purely American questions shall be remitted primarily to the American nations, and that European nations shall not intervene unless requested to do so by the American nations.
- (6) By omitting the guarantee of Article X.
- (7) By providing that no member of the league shall be constituted a mandatory without its consent, and no European or Asiatic power shall be constituted a mandatory of any American people.
- (8) By providing that any member of the league may withdraw at its pleasure on a specific notice.

"It was a magnificent analytical treatment of the topic of the hour, and it should be read by every thoughtful American," said United States Senator William M. Calder, after he and others had congratulated Mr. Hughes on his address.

Would Examine Document

"We are not dealing with an aspiration, but with a document," said Mr. Hughes. "The question is not whether an aspiration needs a document, but whether the document will give effect to the aspiration. We are asked not to raise an emotion, but to approve a plan."

"The question is one of vital importance to the American people. It is a great American question, and should be discussed without partisan bias. If the plan is a good one it ought to be approved regardless of its origin. If the plan is seriously defective or dangerous its source should not save it. The question is presented in advance of the formulation of party platforms and should be considered upon its merits. Republican opponents who believe they are right should welcome Democratic support."

"This counsel, of course, is for Democrats as well as for Republicans. In the latter are not to oppose because they are Republicans it should equally be expected that the former will not support because they are Democrats. The test is not in profession, but in the candor with which the subject is treated."

Proves Covenant Ambiguous

"I shall not attempt to review matters of mere form. It seems to be considered that the covenant is poorly drafted, and its most earnest supporters are severely criticised it. When Mr. Taft says that 'its meaning has to be dug out and the language is ponderous and its diplomatic patois' and President Lowell says that 'in places it is so obscure that the meaning is often inaccurately expressed and sometimes misunderstood,' that it is easily misunderstood and that 'it is easily misunderstood' is it unnecessary to say more. The American people were entitled to a better piece of work. Much would have been gained if at the outset a part of the time expended in its praise had been devoted to its correction."

After discussing the status of the high contracting parties to the covenant, the speaker passed on to the subject of the organization and votes of the signatories, and said:

"It is to be noted that the covenant contains no plan for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice."

An Extraordinary Omission

"It is extraordinary that clear and specific provision should not have been made as to the vote by the body of delegates and the Executive Council, respectively, shall set."

"As all amendments to the covenant

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Puts Total War Cost At \$260,000,000,000

LONDON, March 26.—Edgar Crammond, a prominent British financial writer, estimates the direct cost 000,000 (\$141,800,000,000) and to the Central European Powers at \$13,675,000,000 (\$68,375,000,000). He estimates the total cost of the war, including indirect losses, at \$260,000,000,000 (\$260,000,000,000).

There has been nothing, he says, approaching this destruction of capital wealth in the history of the world. The immediate result of the upheaval is to be found in the high cost of living and universal increase of wages. Judging from past experience, he concludes that the falling in the price of commodities and wages will take place slowly and gradually.

Court Martial Inquiry To Be Made by Baker

Secretary Opens Records of Military Tribunal to the Advisory Committee of National Bar Association

WASHINGTON, March 26.—Plans of the War Department for alterations in courts-martial procedure were the subject of the first conference held by Secretary Baker upon his return today to Washington from an inspection trip. The Secretary met with S. S. Gregory, of Chicago, and Judge Andrew J. Bruce, of Bismarck, N. D., members of the American Bar Association committee appointed to make an advisory study of the whole question of military legal practice and procedure.

Mr. Baker said after the conference that he had placed all the personnel and records of the judge advocate general's office at the disposal of the committee. He said that the committee had been asked to call attention to any individual cases of injustice in reviewing courts-martial proceedings.

The Secretary had no comment to make as to what he planned with regard to publication of the reply submitted for his consideration by Lieutenant Colonel Ansell, of the judge advocate general's office, to statements by Major General Crowder, judge advocate general, previously given out through departmental channels.

One element of the controversy that has arisen over the military legal system is the investigation being conducted at the Secretary's order by Major General Crowder, judge advocate general. The investigation is being conducted by the Secretary's order by Major General Crowder, judge advocate general. The investigation is being conducted by the Secretary's order by Major General Crowder, judge advocate general.

When Senator Chamberlain made public the text of his telegram to Secretary Baker demanding that the Ansell reply be given out for publication there was attached to the copies of Senator Chamberlain's message a statement saying, among other things, that Colonel Ansell had attacked General Chamberlain and other high army officers as "reactionaries" in the first brief he submitted to the Senate committee.

Major James A. Roosevelt Dies Aboard Transport

Second Cousin of Former President on His Way Home on Great Northern

It was learned last night that Major James A. Roosevelt, commander of the 3024 Ammunition Train of the 7th Division, had died aboard the transport Great Northern, due here today.

Major Roosevelt was coming home to answer for the reception here of the 77th Division. He and two other officers, Lieutenant Colonel Douglas Campbell and Captain Lindley, composed the advance party of the division.

Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt stated last night that a message had been received by the family during the day confirming the death of Major Roosevelt, who went over as a captain. He was a second cousin of the former President Theodore Roosevelt and a nephew of W. E. B. Roosevelt of this city.

He was born thirty-three years ago. His father, from whom he inherited a fortune, was James A. Roosevelt. His mother was a sister of President Lowell of Harvard University.

Major Roosevelt was a graduate of Harvard, and for four years was general superintendent of the Third Avenue Railway Company. He left in 1911 to become general manager of the British Columbia Electric Railway Company. Before coming to New York he was an electrical engineer in Boston.

His wife survives him. She was Miss Mary C. Willis, of Oyster Bay, and was married to him in 1908. There are no children.

'Bolsheviki' and 'Liar' Passed by Deputies

PARIS, March 26.—Tumultuous scenes occurred in the Chamber of Deputies this afternoon, when the Right and Left engaged in a controversy, each charging the other with being Bolsheviki, while cries of "Liar!" were heard in the midst of the storm of protest.

The Socialists were bitter in their criticisms of the address made by Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister, in answer to interpellations made by Marcel Cachin and Ernest LaFont on the government's policy in Russia.

Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber, was unable to restore order for a long period, and the pandemonium later resolved itself into a bedlam in which many Deputies added to the noise by pounding on their desks.

ARE ARMY OFFICERS FITTED FOR PEACE? Answered in the April Edition of Magazine—now on all newsstands.—Adv.

Anti-Cigarette War Opens in Earnest Here

Field Secretaries Sent to Begin Educational Campaign as W. C. T. U. Renews Its Energies

Medical Inquiry Begins

Drive Against Tobacco Is Pushed as Prohibition Victory Seems Complete

The war against tobacco is on in earnest.

The Anti-Cigarette League of America, with headquarters at Chicago and the name of United States Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton on its letterhead as "honorary president," has reorganized its forces, and is today dispatching field secretaries to all parts of the country. At the same time, with, as it phrases it, "the fight against alcohol won," it is busily collecting funds by private subscription to further its educational campaign.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union also is concentrating new efforts to stamp out the "tobacco habit." The anti-narcotic division of the union has the work in charge, with the union membership supplying the necessary cash.

"We are going to follow precisely the same methods of educational propaganda through which, after many years' work, we brought about the downfall of alcohol," said Mrs. Ella A. Boole, New York State president and national vice-president of the W. C. T. U.

Medical Men to Act

Simultaneously, The Tribune learned yesterday, apart and distinct from these two agitations, there is now in process of formation a committee of medical men, scientists, economists and industrial leaders who are going to undertake an "exhaustive and impartial investigation" into the effects of tobacco on both the individual and the community. This body will include several men who were members of the famous Committee of Fifty that investigated the liquor question, and the new organization will pursue with respect to tobacco the same character of inquiry, it was announced yesterday.

Four organization meetings of the founders of this committee have already been held at the Yale Club in this city. Constitution, by-laws and a programme of procedure have been drawn up. Dr. Alexander Lambert has been made chairman of the executive committee. Sir William Osler, of Oxford, who is at present devoting himself to special studies of the heart, has joined the membership. Distinguished

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Says Germany Won't Give Up 1 Inch of Land

BERLIN, March 25.—"I take a most solemn oath that the government will not surrender to the enemy one inch of German territory, either east or west," said Dr. Schiffer, Minister of Finance in the new Cabinet, in addressing a great crowd in front of the Chancellor's palace on Sunday, according to the "Tageszeitung."

PARIS, March 26.—The Prussian National Assembly has voted unanimously against the relinquishment by Germany of any of the Rhine territory, especially the Sarre Basin, according to German dispatches reaching here. The advice also telling of meetings of protest multiplying in all parts of Germany against what is called an "enslaving peace."

According to the Zurich correspondent of the "Journal," these manifestations are being organized by the government through Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the Foreign Secretary.

Germans See Salvation in Hungary's Act

Hope Upheaval Will Cause Allies to Mitigate Harsh Terms and Thus Prevent the Spread of Bolshevism

By Joseph G. Saxe

BERLIN, March 26.—The Hungarian upheaval overshadows everything in the mind of the German political world and developments are awaited with breathless interest. The feeling here is that the Hungarian events concern Germany in the closest possible manner, and the vague hope is that they may conceivably change the whole aspect of the international situation to Germany's advantage.

The Hungarians' appeal to the German working class to follow the Hungarian example and make common cause with Russia against the Entente has deeply stirred the revolutionary elements here, who have long been inclined to see in the Entente peoples natural allies against the common enemy of Prussian militarism and pan-German reaction.

Bolshevism a Trump Card

There is more immediate interest in the parallel drawn between Hungary's and Germany's position. Ever since the revision of the armistice Germany's rulers have familiarized themselves with the notion of invoking Bolshevism for supreme resistance and they are fascinated by the audacious step of

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Inner Council Speeds Up Peace Terms to Avert Peril in East; Italy Lifts Adriatic Blockade

Trade Barrier Raised to Block Hungarian Bolshevism; Allies Retain the Right of Sea Search

Karolyi Reported Slain by Assassin

Czecho-Slovaks Capture Danube Town; Vienna Cut Off From Budapest

PARIS, March 26.—The Italian delegation to the peace conference today notified the conference of the abolition of the military and commercial blockade in the Adriatic, by which trading in the Adriatic returns to conditions before the war, except that until peace is declared Allied warships will have the right to search merchantmen.

[The lifting of the blockade in the Adriatic is believed to have been the direct result of the crisis in Hungary, where the Bolsheviki have overthrown the Karolyi government.]

It is reported from Vienna that communication between Vienna and Budapest has been interrupted through the capture by the Czecho-Slovaks of the town of Raab, on the Danube, about midway between the two cities, says a dispatch from Berlin. Large Hungarian cannon foundries are situated at Raab.

Karolyi Reported Slain

According to an unconfirmed report reaching Prague from Budapest, former Premier Karolyi of Hungary has been assassinated, a dispatch from Bern states. On the other hand, a Vienna dispatch by way of Copenhagen reports that Count Karolyi has been arrested and will be brought before a revolutionary tribunal for trial.

The Hungarian National Council has been dissolved on motion of its president, a Budapest dispatch to-day states.

The new Hungarian government's edict establishing revolutionary courts says each must consist of a president and two members, while the prosecutor will be appointed by the government. It is provided that the death sentence

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Peace Framed in "Holy of Holies"

By Frederick Moore

New York Tribune Special Cable Service (Copyright, 1919, New York Tribune Inc.)

PARIS, March 26.—Paris is now dubbing the peace conference the "Council of the Four Holy of Holies." The pseudonym was established to-day when it became known that President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando daily retire to a small room from which even stenographers are excluded for fear of preventing the frank informality which is desired.

The conversations have been conducted in English and there has been in consequence a difficulty arising out of the Italian Minister's inability to speak the Saxon tongue. This has been in part overcome by Premier Clemenceau's heroic efforts as interpreter. No communiqué has been or will be issued until the secret sessions reach an agreement upon the German frontiers and other of the more important questions that are daily under discussion.

I have been informed that the "Council of Four" was suggested either by President Wilson or Lloyd George when it was observed that the Council of Ten often became a council of thirty and even forty, wherein the leaders were surrounded by experts, secretaries, stenographers, etc., with the result that each of the delegates felt he was talking for posterity, and hence was embarrassed.

In American circles the "Council of Four" in the locked room is compared to the producing of the Liberty motor, and the hope is expressed that the peace which is invented will not need so many changes.

Red Revolt in Hungary Provokes Near Panic In Peace Conference

Situation in Rumania Becomes Critical—Poland Is Reported To Be Undermined by Bolshevism, Which Spreads as Conferrees Delay Work on Pact by Prolonged Debate

By Frank H. Simonds

PARIS, March 26, 1919.—Announcement of the outbreak of a Bolshevik revolution in Hungary has produced something approaching panic in the Paris peace conference. The fact itself has surprised those who have been warned repeatedly for the last four months of facts as contrasted with theories of the eastern European situation; nor does the Hungarian incident complete the list of anxieties. Paris knows the Bolsheviki have conquered Hungary. It knows also that the Rumanian situation is becoming critical, and it has almost general testimony from those returning from Poland that Poland is completely undermined by Bolshevism.

Last week the peace conference occupied a large portion of its time in endeavoring to decide how wide it should make the neck of Poland, what the width should be of the corridor connecting the Poles with the sea. It found the decision beyond its capacity and the matter still is adjourned. But while the peace conference is struggling to make decisions which might restore order and open the way to life in the east of Europe, such organization as exists there is crumbling to nothing, and Bolshevism is advancing, while the Allied diplomats debate.

Two Enemies in Europe, Germanism and Bolshevism

It would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the situation in Europe to-day as a result of four months without decision following the victory of last November. Then Germany was at our feet, prepared to accept our sentence, incapable of resisting it. To-day it is the testimony of many who know Germany that Germany will sign no treaty of peace such as we may sometime formulate, that she will invite us to occupy her territory, believing that our armies of occupation will be corrupted by Bolshevism, while her property will be protected from domestic disorder.

We have two enemies in Europe, where we had one enemy four months ago. Germanism, which was crushed, is reviving; Bolshevism, which was a mere distant threat confined in the main to the Muscovite section of the old Romanoff empire, now has crossed the Carpathians and reached the shores of the Danube. It has separated Poland from Rumania, it has broken into Central Europe.

It remains to be seen whether the belief of many well informed people that Germanism is prompting Bolshevism still as in the past is accurate or not, but more and more it begins to be the belief in Europe that German patriots and German soldiers are encouraging the attack of Bolshevism upon the Entente in the hope that Germany may regain her position in the world when Bolshevism has completed the exhaustion of the Western Powers.

To-day Bolshevism has reached Buda-

Clamor to Rule Selves

The British delegation has adopted with enthusiasm Mr. Wilson's doctrine of self-determination of peoples, and from Ireland to India, by way of Egypt, by way of Malta, by way of Cyprus, there is beginning to be heard the clamor of the subject peoples of the British Empire for application to their specific cases of the principle of self-determination adopted by the British in Paris. We have decided on the right in principle of the Poles to have an outlet upon the sea, and we are trying to find some reason why what is right in the Baltic with respect of the Poles is irrevocably wrong in the Adriatic with respect to the Serbs.

We have to-day in Europe war between the Poles and the Ukrainians, between the Poles and the Germans. We have war about to break out between the Rumanians and the Hungarians if the Rumanians do not pass over to Bolshevism. We have something approaching mobilization alike of the Italians and of the Jugo-Slavs in Dalmatia and on the Carniola front. We have war between Serbia and Albania, which never ends. This is one phase.

At the same time we have in the Allied countries millions of men and women ready to go back to work and unable to find work. Factories have not the raw material, the markets of the world are paralyzed, everywhere the clamor rises that some kind of decision be arrived at Paris that will permit men to resume work. A year ago we had war in its most terrible phase at the front, but behind the front we had millions of men and women at work and none idle. To-day we have armies of occupation; we have countries unable to resume the work

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Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando Fast Brushing Aside Minor Discords

League Objections Believed Overcome

Monroe Doctrine Guaranteed and Immigration Is Left to Each Nation

By Frederick Moore

New York Tribune Special Cable Service (Copyright, 1919, New York Tribune Inc.)

PARIS, March 26.—The imperative need of concluding a peace both definite and speedy with Germany has resulted in a somewhat dramatic development. In order to avoid the perils which would arise inevitably if the preliminary terms were not drafted until the various commissions had finished their labors and presented their respective reports certain representatives of the Great Powers have drafted proposals intended to reconcile conflicting views.

These are now being considered by an inner council consisting of President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando, assisted when necessary by their principal colleagues and advisers. Japan, it is understood, is taking no direct part in these discussions, her interests not being immediately affected.

Inner Council Supreme

This inner council has temporarily succeeded the Council of Ten, who will not meet during the next few days, except in case of an emergency or for the discussion of technical matters. It is confidently expected in well informed circles that this arrangement, which is the immediate outcome of an extremely critical situation, will expedite an agreement among the four Great Powers.

The proposals that have been drafted are said to strike at the root of the situation. The final settlement of non-essential matters will be postponed; essentials only will be dealt with. Fortunately the vasty important questions of the military, naval and aerial terms to be imposed upon the enemy have already been decided, and the inner council should have comparatively little difficulty in arriving at unanimous decisions regarding the other important matters, the first of which is the security of France.

The proposed terms, though not divulged in detail, are said to be sufficiently firm, drastic, definite and far-reaching to insure peace, justify a large measure of early demobilization, simplify the grave international food problems and pave the way for speedy industrial reconstruction and financial reorganization.

France Asks Security

It can be affirmed that the principal aims of the proposals are:

1. To insure ample security for France, especially on her eastern frontier.
2. To establish a strong Italy with formidable barriers against aggression.
3. To create a strong Poland.
4. To found a league of nations, pledged on material as well as moral grounds to the preservation of the peace of the world.

It is obvious that these proposals anticipate the decisions and recommendations of the various commissions which have been unable hitherto to agree. It is proposed that the inner council shall cut the Gordian knot and sweep aside every consideration tending to obscure and obstruct the paramount concern of all the Allies, namely, the necessity of an early and definite settlement with Germany, the alternative seemingly being chaos.

High Feeling Against U.S.

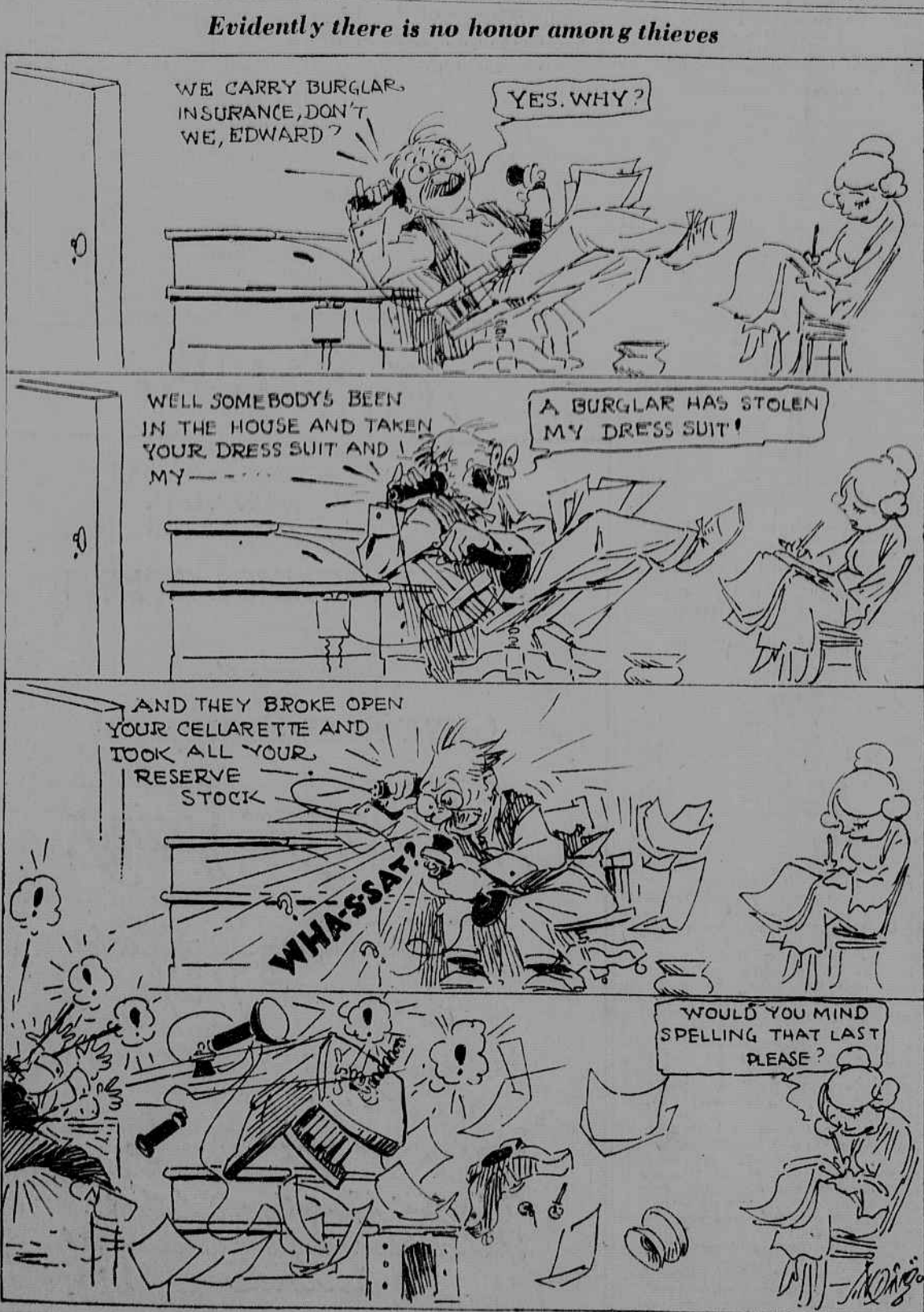
It is thought that President Wilson, to some extent, held up the conclusion of peace in order to insure the establishment of a league of nations, which all the Allies ardently desire but which none cares to see obstruct or prevent progress toward a settlement with Germany.

It is officially stated that amendments meeting all the important objections set forth by the Republican Senators will be incorporated in the league of nations covenant. President Wilson has framed an amendment to Article X clearly guaranteeing the Monroe Doctrine.

There also will be amendments accepting the American position regarding Japanese immigration by "leaving domestic matters within the jurisdiction of the country concerned."

Another amendment will provide

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